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(*kokda fala*); descendants of the other brothers are simply called middle ones.

Second, there are the Male Houses (*neng fala*). This is a literal translation of the native term. Each individual has six Male Houses, which will be designated in this volume as Male House I, Male House II, and so on. These relationships are reckoned as follows: *Male House I*, the ego's mother's brother and male offspring; *Male House II*, father's Male House I (i.e., father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House III*, mother's Male House I (i.e., mother's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House IV*, father's Male House II (i.e., father's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House V*, mother's Male House II (i.e., mother's father's mother's brother and male descendants); *Male House VI*, father's Male House III (i.e., father's mother's mother's brother and male descendants).

It becomes obvious at once that the mother's brother is the stressed relationship but that it is stressed bilaterally with a slight weighting on the paternal side. Another aspect of this kin group is that it includes all the bilaterally reckoned lineages other than ego's for three ascending generations on the father's side and two ascending generations on the mother's side. It is to be noted that every son has slightly different Male House affiliations from his father. The Male Houses function in exchange relationships especially in connection with death services. A full description of form and function must await subsequent publication.

Third, there is the Female House (*nuyoa fala*). This is also a literal translation of the native term. This is a group in which are included all bilaterally reckoned kin who appear neither in the lineage nor in the Male House. It is not subdivided as is the Male House group nor is the concept so sharply defined. However, basically it hinges also on descendants of pairs of siblings, i.e., on the father's sister and the mother's sister. In it are also included descendants through females of Male House kin. The functions of this group are not sharply defined but it is composed in a general way of the people on whom one may call for supplementary assistance in ceremonial and financial exchanges.

There is no trace of brother and sister avoidance, nor are there formalized joking or respect relationships. This negative point may have importance for what follows, since one of the characteristic features of life in Atimelang, as I see it, is the absence of formal structure, especially in interpersonal relationships.

According to the house-to-house census, the number of occupants to a dwelling ranges from one to eight. In this, as in other phases of social organization, there is no rigidity. Theoretically, residence is pat-

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(50 cents) to that of 3000 rupiahs ($1500).* Pigs are usually estimated in terms of moko values. Thus a pig (*fe*) is called a Piki fe, meaning it is worth a Piki moko, or in East Indies currency, about 5 rupiahs ($2.50).

Currency is invested in three primary directions: first, the purchase of a wife, which is not a single negotiation but a series of extremely complex familial exchanges that last as long as the marriage itself; second, a series of burial feasts that may drag on for a generation or two before the series is completed; third, the building of the lineage houses, entailing financial elaborations that may take several years and delay the completion of the dwelling far beyond the actual building time.

There are many kinds of smaller investments in which flesh food such as pigs and goats is used; most frequently chickens suffice. Such outlays are made as sacrifices on several occasions: when the village guardian spirit (*uienai*) is snared and dragged into the carving erected for it; when any one of a whole host of personal familiars is placated;

* These mokos are shaped like hourglasses. Actually, *moko* is not the Alorese word but the most widely used Malay term. The mokos are not of local manufacture; they were formerly imported from Java by Makassarese traders who exchanged them for goods. Since importation of the drums stopped half a century ago, the supply is no longer adequate and their value is rising. A government census taken some twenty years ago reported the presence of twenty thousand mokos throughout the island.

The natives have assigned to each of the various categories of mokos a value in rupiahs, the monetary unit of the Netherlands East Indies. For readers who may be interested in estimating the worth of the mokos named in this book, a list of the categories and their assigned values is given here. Rupiahs were maintained at the same exchange rates as Holland guilders (florins). The currency values when given in dollars have been translated at the rate of two rupiahs to a dollar. Monetary values for mokos became stabilized in the early 1920's, when money was about twice as cheap as it was in 1938. Therefore, to get the cash price of a moko in 1938 it would be necessary to halve the listed worth.

Mokos	*Rupiahs*	*Dollars*	*Mokos*	*Rupiahs*	*Dollars*
Lasingtafa	1	.50	Kolmale	13	6.50
Saluka	2	1.00	Hawatuka	15	7.50
Fatafa	2 1/2	1.25	Yeksaing	25	12.50
Kabali	3	1.50	Fehawa	30	15.00
Piki	5	2.50	Aimala	65	32.50
Tawantanu	5	2.50	Afuipe	70	35.00
Hiekbui	6	3.00	Mekawar	150 and up	
Tamamia	8	4.00	Djawa	500 and up	
Maningmauk	10	5.00	Irkira	1000 and up	

This list is incomplete, and from the Kolmale on, the values are only approximate. There are many subdivisions of these higher bracket categories and considerable variation in prices given by informants. The sequence of relative values, however, is accurate.

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when gardens are cleared, planted, and harvested and the good will of the souls of their previous cultivators must be solicited; and when sacred lineage hearths (*use ara*) are "fed" at the time of harvesting the new corn crop. At such times it is the men who contribute the flesh food and who officiate. Women contribute rice or corn, which is supplementary in importance but not in bulk.

If an Atimelang man plays with gusto the financial role his culture assigns him, the major part of his time will be taken up with the manipulation of these three types of investments. Concepts of profit, interest, credit, and reciprocity are all present, and since currencies are not strictly standardized in value sequences and in commensurability, there is ample play in the system for endless bargaining. In addition, debts are rarely paid except under the pressure of dunning. It is quite evident that a man in the financial swim will have to devote most of his time to negotiations.

The elaborate and interesting economic system of Atimelang—as well as most of the other aspects of the culture briefly described in this chapter—will be discussed again and in more detail in the course of this volume, but for the moment the following summary will do. Subsistence economy is in the hands of the women and gives them real power and status, which are not stressed in the ideological system. The men are primarily responsible for financial dealings, which are the honorific occupation of the society. The divorce between subsistence and finance is not so complete as the ownership of property on a sex basis would indicate, nor is labor in either of these realms so divorced in practice as it is in theory. Many men are passionate horticulturalists and many women have financial skills. No onus is attached to preoccupation with the economic function of the other sex; in fact, it is rather admired as a supplementary skill.

In the realm of religion sacrifice is the chief form of worship. Using the term *worship* in this sense may be misleading because it gives a connotation of sacredness and awe that does not exist. Prayer is to all intents and purposes nonexistent; the nearest approach to it is a rare type of invocation (*abang*). Divination in five or six major forms is used frequently.

All individuals have personal familiars that they have inherited from parents and grandparents or have acquired themselves through some visionary experience. The inheritance of these personal familiars is not rigorous or exclusively in the patrilineal line, so that new ones are constantly being imported by women who marry into the Five Villages. The prevalence of fevers, especially malaria, which is endemic, may

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867 forthcoming. There are several anecdotes about reproaches on this score, and in one instance a mother and a half-grown son came to blows over the matter. It was the crisis around which crystallized a hostility still effective ten years later. An additional result of adult objections to an overfree use of garden crops by children is that it may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangena's autobiography (page 104) [378] reveals the jealousy and rivalry that can develop between boys when the parents of one of them forbid foraging in their fields.

857 These objections pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys frequently indulge. Rilpado's autobiography (page 136) graphically presents illustrative instances. The whole system of feeding [378 355 485] leaves one of the marked intercultural tensions centering on theft and the fear of theft.

During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When a man visits a house on financial business, it is customary to set a calabash dish of food before him. Any little boys loitering [355 378] about are invited to join him. They soon learn to attach themselves to men who seem to be setting out on business trips, and in this way they [347] undoubtedly learn through absorptive processes a great deal about the role expected of them as adults. In addition, boys of approximately 863 twelve years often attach themselves to young men whom they serve much in the manner of fags. The autobiographies stress this type of relationship in several instances, indicating that it is a source of education in cultural values, for better or for worse, and that food is one of the important rewards for services rendered. The food quest is therefore a factor contributing to the acquisition of the skills expected of adult males.

857 Still other sources of food are available to boys. They may form 867 work groups (*tatai*) of from three to twelve age-mates who go to each 457 other's fields in turn to cut down or pull out weeds. Usually such labor is done only during the seasons of heavy garden work preceding the rains and about two months after the rains have begun, when weeds are plentiful. These work groups parallel those of adults. At such times, the mother acting as hostess for her child provides a midday meal of boiled corn and beans. Girls are more likely than boys to take part in such group work and to participate earlier in life. Here definitely, hunger may motivate industry in children, and thereby a tendency may be set up that helps in part to explain the presence in the society of men who are enthusiastic gardeners despite the fact that horticulture is recognized as a predominantly female activity.

855 857 During feasts the boys who help with the butchering are given some

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251 There are no taboos
[784] caused with the period except that attending a dance will interfere with proper drying and that if small children loiter too near the older group they will fail to grow up rapidly. For his services the young man is paid a nominal sum of an arrow, or nowadays a penny, per child. He seldom makes more than twenty or thirty cents for a week's work. When I asked why a young man undertook such a task when the reward was so small, the answer was, "Because he likes to be near young girls."

304 On the last day or two of the period those who are to have their
[781] teeth filed go through the ordeal. The same person who prepared the dye usually does the tooth filing. The subject's head is laid on the thigh of the operator and wedged against his side with his elbow. The jaws are propped open with a piece of coconut. The six upper and six lower
[812] front teeth are then filed to half their length with an ordinary knife blade which has been nicked to resemble a saw. Apparently experience makes it possible to avoid the root canal, which occupies only the upper half of the incisors. The whole operation takes about two or three
[837] hours, and for this the operator is paid the equivalent of about five cents. It is undoubtedly painful but, as in tattooing, it is bad form to admit it. The result of this filing seems that even when the back teeth
[832] are occluded, the tongue will show pinkly between the gaping front teeth when a person smiles. This is considered definitely attractive.

The complete informality of this ceremony is manifest by the fact that some of the young people return two or three years in succession if the first attempt at blackening was not successful. Also, anyone, at any time, may have his teeth filed down to a straight, even line for appearance's sake. The range of ages is also wide. Boys may be from about fourteen to twenty and girls from twelve to eighteen. There is no regulation against young married people joining the group. The married people, however, are most likely to be girls, since marriage comes early for them.

Tattooing, the beginning of masculine vanity, courting, and tooth blackening are all preliminaries to marriage for young people. It will be necessary now to describe the financial elaborations involved in marriage for the young Atimelangers, how they enter into such relationships, and what some of the associated sex attitudes and practices are.

STRUCTURE OF MARRIAGE FINANCE

383 *Marriage* has as one of its major functions the establishment of a series of exchanges between groups of extended affinal kin which will continue as long as the marriage lasts. There are three major types of

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form of gift from a husband called "roastings" (*bieting*). He brings a small pig to his affinal kin's feast, slaughters and cooks it there, and disposes of its meat himself; he does not turn it over to his father-in-law for distribution. However, he is felt to be adding to the ostentation of the occasion by cooking at the site of the feast.

So far I have been describing affinal exchanges as though they occurred only between the husband and his wife's father or brother. Actually most financial exchanges between men are phrased as affinal ones. Thus a man may enter into financial transactions with the husbands of any female kin he calls *vi mayos*, i.e., female child. This includes all his nieces and cousins reckoned bilaterally. Such exchanges also are called dowries (*moling*) and bride-prices (*fila*) but they do not affect the original agreement between a man and his affinal kin. A sister's son also is called a *vi mayos*. In this case the term means a male child through a female kin. Such a vi mayos may ask his mother's brother for financial help (*moling*), on the supposition that the maternal uncle is paying dowry on his sister. There are, of course, still wider ramifications of these bride-price–dowry exchanges, but they need not be discussed in this connection.

Perhaps one of the best indexes of what marital finances may mean is revealed in cases of divorce. At such times tallies of sticks or pebbles are laid down in separate rows by each side to represent the kafuk and paheh versus the moling and fila payments. As a rule the punghe and siengma exchanges are not counted unless there is a good deal of ill feeling and consequently financial pressure is being brought to bear on one or the other principals. As each tally is named in connection with the occasion of payment, witnesses may be called upon to substantiate the correctness of the claim. These witnesses are usually people who have some financial interest in the settlement. However, since such financial exchanges are invariably public affairs and so much a matter of common knowledge, skill in divorce reckonings depends more on memory than on chicanery. The objective is to balance bride-price payments against dowry payments.

Since such reckonings are the favorite way for husbands, wives, and affinal kin to air their grievances, these encounters are frequent. I should hazard the guess that there averaged one a week in the Five Villages. Naturally not all led to divorce. Usually after bluffs had been called and grievances aired, the couple settled down again. Fantan's autobiography offers a nice example of such a situation.

People generally seemed to sense whether the divorce reckoning was in earnest or not, but whether or not it was serious never seemed to de-

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tributing pigs to both sides. Women were hiding piglets in the houses so that all the animals would not be killed."

Then the Male House 1* of each chief contestant decided to meet and reckon their tallies. They set up forked tree branches on neutral ground between the two villages. The young men of both sides met there and fought. They pushed and tugged and sparred with clubs. When they finished fighting, the Male House representatives of each side took two tallies apiece and tossed them into the air, saying, "Moon-Sun, we give you these two tallies. If our side is at fault, may our tallies be fewer. If our side is right, hide the tallies of our opponent; make ours flow in like water."

Then each side began laying down tallies. Maliseni's representatives would put down one and Mangma's representatives would lay one on top of it. When Maliseni's tallies were finished, Mangma's side still had many. Then Mangma's side shouted a formal gloat, "Sapaliek! The rooster's tail droops! You are a voiceless night bird. Our lineage house's taproot goes down deep. You were mistaken." Then they all danced challenge, saying, "Hik, hik! my friend Maliseni, sit quietly; don't talk. We are the ones to talk. We are a bird with a bell-like voice; you are a silent night bird."

After this climax of the contest there was an all-night dance. At dawn the winners gave to their six Male House kin for their services a series of graded payments that amounted to about twenty-five dollars in gongs and mokos plus various pigs and a sword. In addition, all the pigs used had to be paid for.

For five years after this event Maliseni and his rivals avoided each other. Finally the winners sent a go-between to Maliseni with offers of a peacemaking feast on the spot where the reckoning had taken place. Here the principals exchanged areca, rice cones, and meat. Each side ate the other's food, and peace was restored. At least the contestants no longer avoided each other.

This particular contest broke out over an affinal exchange. It involved many people who had no particular interest in losing the pigs they were raising for other purposes. It failed also to settle the hostility between Maliseni and some of his opponents. About ten years later the rivalry broke out once more, this time between Maliseni and Malefani, one of Mangma's and Malesta's chief supporters. This time the precipitating factor was that Malefani's three young sons refused to let Maliseni join them in a rat hunt. Maliseni was angry and shouted at the boys, "I'll hit you if you don't wish me to go with you. Go copulate with a

* See page 11.

457 Such a division can be made only where money is not the medium for securing the necessities of life as it is in the West. Of course the question immediately arises, "If the people of Atimelang do not buy food and clothing, if they pay no rent, what do they do with their currencies?" There are three main outlets. First, they pay off the obligations of parents' death feasts in order to placate and honor the ghosts. Second, they participate in the building of lineage houses. Third and most important of all, they buy wives. Formerly they also bought human heads as "spouses" for murdered kin, but certainly no heads have been taken in Alor for some twenty years and murder now brings retribution from the Netherlands government.

436 These transactions might seem straightforward and simple enough, but actually they are far from being so. Currencies, wherever they are used, seem to give rise to strange complexities of manipulation. Part of the complexity lies in the very nature of the currencies themselves. For example, pigs might seem at first blush to be primarily consumption goods, yet actually they do not so function in Alor nor are they so considered. Flesh is rarely eaten and only in connection with feast payments. A pig which dies or is killed accidentally leads immediately to giving a feast since it is unthinkable that a pig could be eaten casually. In fact, one way of forcing a man into giving feasts is to kill his pigs.

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Mokos, or metal kettledrums, are the second and chief currency standard into which the other currencies may be translated. The mokos themselves are not identical and their values do not run in a decimal series, although the counting system does. There is always latitude for disagreement on the exact value of a particular moko and particularly in equating pigs of varying sizes with mokos of varying types. Fantan may offer a pig worth a five-dollar moko in his estimation, but Maliseni, who is receiving the pig, will equate it with a moko worth only four dollars. The matter must then be arbitrated, usually stormily. Here we have the clue to masculine labor and why it can be so time-consuming. Lastly, a word about gongs. They are highly prized in themselves as musical instruments and are therefore not so fluid a currency as pigs and mokos. Only when the gongs are broken or worn out do they become a common medium of exchange.

Essentially the Alorese currency system rests on interest and credit. Mokos and gongs are not of local manufacture. They were imported from Java by Makassarese traders who brought them to the coast, where they were exchanged for

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613 476 A more usual outlay is for the building of lineage houses. This is the joint responsibility of all the descendants in the male lines of a designated forebear, and the houses become the center of ancestral sacrifices. To build them, much heavy labor is needed, and in this labor the whole community is invited to help. In return the helpers are feasted, and that means both buying pigs and slaughtering one's own. Since there may be a dosen or more such feasts in the course of erecting a lineage house, construction may progress in short stages over a period of years to allow for the necessary accumulation of pigs.

437 764 602 The death feasts are another object of expenditure. When a man dies, certain of his kin, the descendants of his mother's brothers, contribute the shroud, grave services, pigs and mokos. These preliminary feasts and services occur during the first eight days after death. Then, anywhere from a year to twenty years later, two return feasts must be given at which the mother's brothers' descendants are repaid at high rates of interest, which must be agreed upon by negotiation. They may range as high as three hundred and four hundred per cent. Obviously not all the dead get such elaborate financial treatment. The small payoffs on the burial rites for children or young men and women may be made as a side issue when feasts for their more important kin are given. The bookkeeping involved in these elaborate and long-drawn-out transactions must be carried in people's heads. There is no system of writing, not even a system of tallies, to keep track of their complexity. One man who gave such a feast summarized the transactions in connection with that ceremony alone. He had fifty-seven creditors and debtors involving two hundred items to remember. This was certainly no mean intellectual feat. I should hesitate to maintain a causal connection, but it is true that the singular accomplishments of the Alorese in practical financial matters are paralleled by an equally singular lack of interest in what we should call abstract thinking or theorizing.

153

583 606 The largest, most persistent exchange relationship which a man establishes in his lifetime is with his wife's family. Marriage is in no way a religious or a ceremonial affair. It is essentially financial—the establishment of a system of group exchanges. There is first of all a bride price in mokos matched by a dowry in mokos. The dowry, however, is only about a third of the bride price. These exchanges are not paid all at once, but gradually over a period of many years. The girl goes to live in the boy's house when he pays the first and largest moko. After that the

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